1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

ram. The second, and most widespread, may be termed loose heredity. The factor modifying the heredity principle is invariably achievement or ability. All of the Plateau Salish, except the Columbia and Flathead, together with the Kutenai, are included in this group. The third type is selection according to more or less arbitrary principles of achievement, with particular emphasis upon war records. The Flathead, Nez Percé, Cayuse, and Umatilla comprise this group. A fourth type might be suggested, with the position acquired through prestige and ability, but without formal selection. Sekani chieftainship is of this type, but it is uncertain whether the Carrier belong here or not.

Nowhere in the Plateau is chieftainship based upon wealth, as on the coast of northern California, nor directly correlated with wealth, as on the Northwest Coast generally. The Klamath are a partial exception since they apply the same term to rich man and chief, and in that all chiefs are rich men. But fundamentally the Klamath link with the southeastern Plateau. Spier explains:

> A chief is one who has acquired his position in war, with some background of spirit experiences, wealth, ability to talk, and a suggestion of hereditary interest; this beyond natural ability for leadership.[10]

The strict inheritance of chieftainship among the Chilcotin, Lillooet, and Wishram is quite obviously a reflection of coastal heredity minus any great emphasis upon wealth. Geographical considerations suggest this, but it is further apparent in the associated emphasis upon lineages (Chilcotin, Lillooet) and correlation with rank (Wishram). A Wishram modification provides for selection from among a number of eligible candidates:

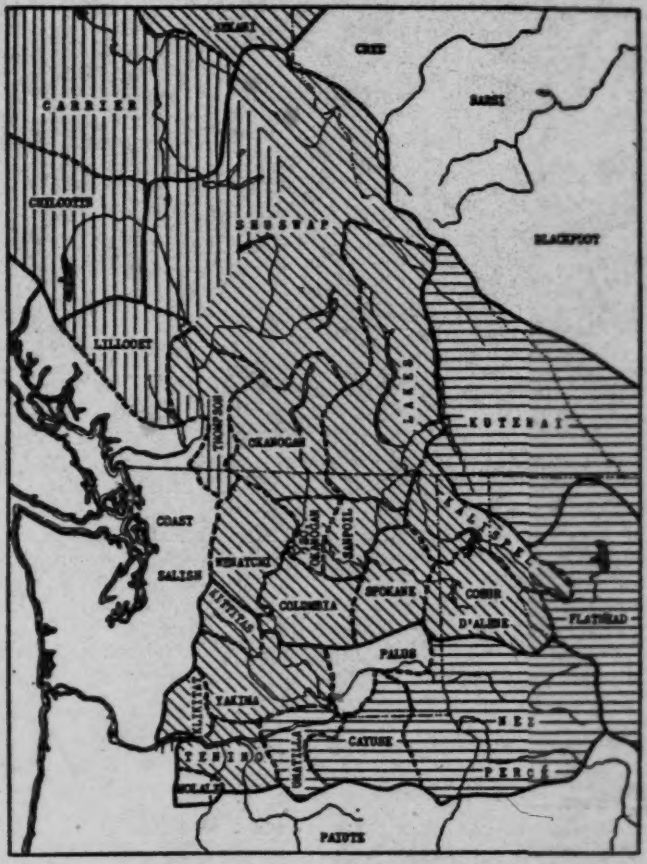
> Several men were simultaneously chiefs. . . . Chieftainship was hereditary; on the death of a chief his place was taken by a son, a brother, a grandson, or some other close relative. . . . A man of parts, well versed in the arts of his people, of accommodating disposition, well provided with property in the form of horses, slaves, canoes, and other valuables, is chosen.[11]

Thus the Wishram form something of a link between strict adherence to heredity and loose heredity. The principal reason for placing them in the former category is that no provision is made for breaking the hereditary line if no satisfactory individual is eligible. Throughout the area of loose heredity this can be done. Among the Sanpoil, for

[10] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, pp. 37, 308–10.
[11] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult citizen—man or woman—is a member of the general assembly of his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new



MAP 4. Class and rank. *Vertical hatching:* modified coastal pattern; *diagonal hatching:* no stratification; *horizontal hatching:* ranking according to war honors.

lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially; he is as approachable as any man in the group. Nor does wealth carry any suggestion of advance in status. Indeed, wealth is rare. Only sha-

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living. Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[35]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[36] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man. Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[37]

The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

[35] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelem*, pp. 25 f.
[36] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.
[37] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 87, 98.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

their lances. The poles were set up at the houses of the men owning the scalps, where they remained until the scalp dance was performed. 535 727

Similarly, among the Flathead, a ceremonial procession is organized. The warriors sing while approaching and then charge the camp as if it were that of an enemy. They race around the camp circle, during which their camp mates, especially women, attempt to halt them. If stopped, the warrior must make a present to the one responsible. Turney-High attributes this forfeiture of gifts to the victory dance rather than the victory procession, saying:

> In the midst of all his war-honors the scalp-taker was not carefree. The Salish wealth complex obtruded itself into this ceremonial, as the scalp-taker was supposed to make a present to every woman joining in the dance, even of a valuable horse. Ordinarily the warriors were generous enough, since the distribution of gifts in the scalp dance enhanced their prestige.[90] 535 556 727

It is difficult to comment upon such an interpretation without becoming subjective. Not only is the practice of sacrificing gifts in this manner a direct affiliation with the Plains, but no such thing as a wealth complex, Salish or otherwise, exists among the Flathead or any other closely related Plateau group! The most nearly parallel practice is found among the Plains Cree. Speaking of the returning victorious war party, R. Jefferson says,

> They commence their ceremonious entrance into camp. The owners of scalps march in the middle front, bearing their trophies. The others act as a chorus, naming the successful warrior and singing the scalp songs. When the attention of the camp was attracted, all would rush toward them to hear the news. The custom was to rifle the tents of the near relatives of those who brought home scalps; probably with the idea that they were so transported with joy as not to notice the depredation. This was the next step, and all hastened to take what they could lay hands on, so that a returned warrior was often obliged to seek shelter and food in someone else's lodge.[91] 535 727

The Nez Percé probably share the victory procession but this is not certain; it is not practiced by the Umatilla.

The victory dance is the final ceremony of those linked with war. More commonly this ritual is called the scalp dance, but this name is inapplicable where scalps are not taken, or where heads or hair take the place of scalps.

[90] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 189; Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 63.
[91] Skinner, *Political and Ceremonial Organization*, p. 535.

5: Bancroft H-4 (no date) 1883 Plateau

of small size, probably degenerated from a superior stock, but hardy and surefooted; sustaining hunger and hard usage better than those of the whites, but inferior to them in form, action, and endurance. All colors are met with, spotted and mixed colors being especially prized.[173]

The different articles of food, skins and grasses for clothing and lodges and implements, shells and trinkets for ornamentation and currency are also bartered between the nations, and the annual summer gatherings on the rivers serve as fairs for the display and exchange of commodities; some tribes even visit the coast for purposes of trade. Smoking the pipe often precedes and follows a trade, and some peculiar commercial customs prevail, as for instance when a horse dies soon after purchase, the price may be reclaimed. The rights of property are jealously defended, but in the Salish nations, according to Hale, on the death of a father his relatives seize the most valuable property with very little attention to the rights of children too young to look out for their own interests.[174] Indeed, I have heard of deeds of similar import in white races.

[173] 'The tradition is that horses were obtained from the southward,' not many generations back. *Tolmie*, in *Lord's Nat.*, vol. ii., pp. 247, 177–8. Individuals of the Walla Wallas have over one thousand horses. *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. Bay*, p. 83. Kootenais rich in horses and cattle. *Palliser's Explor.*, pp. 44, 73. Kliketat and Yakima horses sometimes fine, but injured by early usage; deteriorated from a good stock; vicious and lazy. *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., p. 405. 'La richesse principale des sauvages de l'ouest consiste en chevaux.' *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 47, 56. At an assemblage of Walla Wallas, Shahaptains and Kyoots, 'the plains were literally covered with horses, of which there could not have been less than four thousand in sight of the camp.' *Ross' Adven.*, p. 127. The Kootanies about Arrow Lake, or Sinatcheggs have no horses, as the country is not suitable for them. *Id., Fur Hunters*, vol. ii., pp. 171–2. Of the Spokanes the 'chief riches are their horses, which they generally obtain in barter from the Nez Percés.' *Cox's Adven.*, vol. i., p. 200. A Skyuse is poor who has but fifteen or twenty horses. The horses are a fine race, 'as large and of better form and more activity than most of the horses of the States.' *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 82. The Flatheads 'are the most northern of the equestrian tribes.' *Nicolay's Ogn. Ter.*, p. 153. Many Nez Percés 'have from five to fifteen hundred head of horses.' *Palmer's Jour.*, pp. 128–9. Indians of the Spokane and Flathead tribes 'own from one thousand to four thousand head of horses and cattle.' *Stevens' Address*, p. 12. The Nez Percé horses 'are principally of the pony breed; but remarkably stout and long-winded.' *Irving's Bonneville's Adven.*, p. 301; *Hastings' Em. Guide*, p. 59; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 344; *Gass' Jour.*, p. 295; *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 230.

[174] The Chillnckittequaw intercourse seems to be an intermediate trade with the nations near the mouth of the Columbia. The Chopunnish trade for, as well as hunt, buffalo-robes east of the mountains. Course of trade in